

*British Colonies vol 4.*

THE  
ABSOLUTE NECESSITY  
OF  
Laying Open the TRADE  
TO THE  
EAST-INDIES.

Proving that as a Revenue of 5 Millions per ann. and a Contribution of 8 Millions, will be acquired by Government; the Subjects put in Possession of their natural Right to a *free Trade*, and relieved of their burthensome Taxes, every Proposal for *continuing* the Company's Charter ought to be rejected; and the Men who patronize such Proposals considered as Enemies to the Interest both of Subject and State,

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J. O. W. D. N.

Printed for J. W. and J. R. in the Strand  
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THE  
ABSOLUTE NECESSITY  
OF LAYING OPEN THE  
TRADE to the EAST-INDIES.

DEDICATED  
TO  
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF  
Northumberland.

*Perseverance in a good Cause often forces Success.*

My LORD DUKE,

AT a time so extremely critical as the present is universally allowed to be, while the State is burthened with a DEBT of more than *one hundred and fifty millions Sterling*, and the Subject with grievous

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unbearable taxes, raised to provide for the interest *only* of that enormous principal; and while *many* employ their talents to find out a remedy for the general distress occasioned by the *want of means* to pay the numerous Taxes imposed, which are ill-proportioned to the abilities or circumstances of the lower class of individuals. At a period so critical as this, My Lord, in which the happiness of the subject is highly concerned, and whereon the safety and prosperity of the state itself depends, I have selected from the few true Patriots that England can now boast of, your Grace to be the patron of my endeavours to serve that community which is greatly injured by such a critical and hazardous situation; and I hope, My Lord Duke, you will approve of being engaged in so glorious a cause, as that of your country, which is highly worthy of your noble Family. The LOVE which you have always shewn for your country, has endeared you to individuals of every class; and your *particular* attachment to the most illustrious family of HANOVER, has sufficiently convinced the nation, that you are ready upon every occasion to lend your assistance, and use all your interest for the prosperity of his Majesty's dominions. This being the sense of  
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the public, with regard to your Grace, it is greatly to be lamented that men, who possess the qualities both of head and heart, which are so conspicuous in you, are not employed in the most important service of their country; which, to the misfortune both of subject and state, is *tormented* by many weak and corrupt members. Men who, having no real regard to the interest either of individuals or the state, only think how they shall make the general confusion and distress subservient to the gratification of their own views. In this situation, that stakes the credit and happiness of a *whole* nation, in which your Grace deservedly bears so high a dignity, it is most heartily wished, that you would be pleased to step forth, in the character of Champion of your country, in order to relieve her from the oppression of venal and corrupt members; members who would have no shame to sacrifice their country to promote their own particular views. We have many instances of this truth which stare us in the face, and bid us defiance. For they imagine that the *dignity* of their departments defend their actions from the reproach and resentment of the rest of the community; but in this way of thinking, they may soon find themselves mistaken,

and be stopped in the *wild* career; by the indignation of that public that has authority to displace the most powerful individual, and make even a *Massaniello* considerable. Let such men, whose only aim is the gratification of their own purposes, at the expence of the nation; let them, I say, remember the recent conduct of the Spaniards towards their premier minister, who, with all the *favour* of a powerful prince, and *support* of his peers, could not withstand the just resentment of the oppressed. The spirit of the British nation is not inferior in regard either to a sense of *liberty* or *justice*, than those of the *Castilians*, or the *Neapolitans*, who had courage to oppose oppression, and make a *Massaniello* the instrument of their delivery from oppressive measures. An admonition of this sort is highly requisite at this juncture, when *all* are grasping for riches, and want to share in the spoil of their oppressed country; which (tho' groaning under an unsupportable load of debt) these *venal* individuals, having the opportunity to do as they please, have no scruple to *excoriate*.

I need not give your Grace many instances of what I am speaking of, as you are perfectly acquainted both with the situation



tuation of things, and the conduct of those men who have the charge of them in trust for the nation. I cannot, however, avoid mentioning some few things, which, in my judgment, are at this juncture of time highly deserving the particular attention of the British nation,

After being plagued with the administration of a *weak* Caledonian, so partial to the North, to the prejudice of South Britons, as to occasion very great and universal complaints, but to *very little purpose*; we were saddled with men of more experience and abilities; but they being his creatures, were influenced by him, and consequently adapted his measures; so that nothing good and great, for the service of the nation, could be expected during their administration. The attention of *all* has since been engaged about the conduct of the popular -----; who has had art enough to make all things turn out to the advantage of his own family. What service this loquacious and cunning statesman has done to his country I will leave other people to determine; contenting myself with giving my opinion that the whole of his conduct in the several stages of political life, proves him to be an *artful* statesman,

statesman, inclined more to his own interest than to his country's welfare. A man of great eloquence and excellent understanding, assisted with all the lights that could be given, wanting integrity and real patriotism, makes popularity subservient to the accomplishments of his own views. His officiousness in bringing about the repeal of the *Stamp-Act* and laying the foundation for the independency of the Americans will be an eternal reproach to him, both as an able statesman and good subject. And the conduct of this man, since his retirement from office, proves the infatuation of the English of every class, and the little spirit of his peers, who, to the reproach of their understanding, suffer this man to monopolize all great qualities, and be the standard of great abilities and true patriotism, the idol both of *court* and multitude. Shame to them who have so little regard to their own understanding as to be led and guided by him in all things! Suffering him to dictate even to the GREAT his own terms, and employ those *only* who, being most attached to his interest, are the most fit to suit his purpose. Is not this blind compliance, a reproach to the British senate, who with the same infatuation as the multitude, have lost their pristine spirit and

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emulation? As I am not attached to any party or set of men, I can have no aversion to this popular man more than as his conduct affects the interest of that community whereof I am a member; and therefore the public may be assured that the opposition I make to his measures is owing to the love which I have for my country; (on whose success my own happiness, as well as that of every individual depends) and not to disappointment, passion, or prejudice, either of which motives would be unbecoming of a man of spirit.

It is my opinion that there is not one man who has done more injury to the state than ----- by his weakness and partiality; and ----- by his popularity and want of *true* patriotism. The *former* is not blameable for not doing that which was not in the power of his abilities; but he is highly culpable for undertaking that which he was so little capable of executing. The *latter* is unpardonable, for (having all the experience and abilities which are requisite for a great statesman) omitting, for his own convenience, to give his assistance when the nation stood most in need thereof. Cunningly thinking that by joining with men of less experience he  
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might risk his reputation ; and therefore, at the most critical juncture of time, when his talents were most wanted, he declined giving his assistance ; and so neglected his country's interest until he brought about the accomplishment of his own views, which were his own advancement, and the displacing of the men he disliked, to put in those who were more attached to him. This point being compassed, to establish himself firmly, he dextriously thought of an union with Lord B ; and this union is now so formidable, that nothing can withstand it : so very powerful, that the consequence may be alarming, as neither of them have ever given proof of real disinterested patriotism. And what mischief will not men do when their own particular interest is their principle of action ? The thought, in our present critical situation, is really alarming ; and I hope that *all* who have a serious thought about the happiness of this country, and their own welfare, will give all the attention to this matter which the importance of it requires. But as I do not intend to write the history of L--- C's life, I shall say no more at present about the most *able*, the most *artful* ; but not the most *disinterested* statesman of the present age : a man, who would have  
acquired



acquired immortal Glory had his disinterestedness been equal to his abilities. In that case he never would have joined that weak statesman who is secretly his colleague, and whom he before so strenuously opposed. But, so powerful is self love, that in proportion as things change for the interest of statesmen, they are made agreeable to their sentiments; and *they* are thereby induced to adopt the very measures which they before opposed with all their power.

It now engages the public attention to learn what good this popular and very powerful man (strengthened with the friendship and alliance of the famous---) will do with his great abilities in the service of his country with regard to the present dispute between the government and the East-India company of merchants. This important affair, in which other nations are highly concerned and have their hireling writers, attracts the eyes of all Europe, who thinking the determination will depend upon the judgement and conduct of the E. of C---- will either commend or blame him as he may deserve. And as *immortal Glory* or *eternal disgrace* will be the recompence of his behaviour in this very great  
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affair, it is hoped that he will *forego all personal advantages*, and devote himself entirely to the service of his country. His natural and acquired abilities are great; and so many lights have been thrown out with regard to that business, that this nobleman has a fine, nay a glorious opportunity to collect from the labours of other men (as is usual with all good statesmen; and which, indeed, is both necessary and right; for no mortal can be either all-sufficient or infallible) not only the real state of things with respect to his majesty's dominions and other nations, but also the sense of the public concerning them, and acquire the merit of all their performances. To compass this, I am certain he has too much sense and good policy to follow the example of a certain premier minister, who having received several pamphlets tending to the improvement of commerce, and a discovery of the means to *relieve the general distress*, he ordered his domestic to give answer that, he *never in all his life had perused, nor never intended to read any pamphlet whatever*; and therefore would not condescend even to open a letter relative to affairs that highly concern both subject and state: Thinking, I suppose, that his natural abilities are so great as not to stand in need of any information and assistance.



ance. To such young, unexperienced, self-sufficient statesmen, we may justly attribute the greatest misfortunes which befall a nation. How ridiculous, how highly contemptible must this unprecedented piece of presumption appear to men of sense, who know that Evils cannot be removed until they are pointed out. To make answer that he never had perused, and never intended to read any pamphlet in all his life is such an answer for a statesman to give, as ought to fire the breast of every true Briton with the greatest indignation and contempt of his presumption: And they should grieve to find such a man placed at the helm. For, how is it possible for this *young* nobleman to know the state of all things that concern this *vast* trading nation; so as to be able to judge judiciously of *future effects from present causes*, without information? Helps that the most *enlightened* statesmen have always stood in need of, and were so sensible of the necessity of obtaining as to procure them at any expence.

How can the many complaints which are daily made, be redressed, unless it should please great statesmen *graciously to condescend* to read the remonstrances of

*oppressed* individuals? Let it be remembered that tho' a man may be wanton in the execution of his will with his dependants private life, yet in a public character there is a respect due to that public which employs and pays him abundantly. And tho' a man may have a ducal dignity, and be a premier minister he is nevertheless accountable to the community for the conduct of his administration; he being no more than a dignified servant of a spirited nation.

Many are the instances of the presumption of Ministers. But it is sufficient to mention BUCKINGHAM, and remember the state of a man in great authority who, not studying the welfare of his country, lost the affections of his fellow-subjects, who detested him, and he met with the fate he deserved. *Squilace* is a recent instance of public spirit against an unworthy minister: and *Massaniello* shews the power and resentment of an injured and incensed community.

This nation (by what means ministers know best) being in debt more than *one hundred and fifty millions*, while some state officers grow rich, *methods* are now seeking to provide for that large sum; and the  
measures



measures to be taken in consequence thereof, are what now engage the attention of the *whole* nation. What the views of our present ministers are, I cannot tell; but I know what they ought to be, viz. *To provide for the debt of the nation in such manner, as the numerous burthensome taxes may be gradually taken off; and not encreased, to bring about the destruction of individuals, and the ruin of the state itself; which must happen if some remedy is not soon found to prevent a bankruptcy. For another long and expensive war (which perhaps is not far off) will encrease our debt from one hundred and fifty millions to the Lord knows what: this, without resources, it is manifest, even to the most common understanding, must occasion a general sponge. And then what will become of a commercial nation, whose effects will be liable to the confiscation of such foreigners as may be concerned in our funds? And as this state cannot exist without an extended commerce, these risques will then become general and continual; so that a sponge or bankruptcy, which gives relief to particular individuals is a remedy worse than the disease, with regard to a trading country. It therefore becomes every lover of our most excellent SOVEREIGN, and every well-*

well-wisher to his majesty's family and dominions, to join in the support of such measures as are best cultivated to relieve the *general distress*. To accomplish this, there now offers a most noble opportunity, by *laying open the trade to the East-Indies*; which, it is demonstrable, will *encrease* by a considerable extention of Trade, his majesty's revenue to the amount of at least *one million* yearly; and, supposing the territorial acquisitions in India do now, or may be made to render *four millions* sterling per ann. (of which there can be no doubt, since Mr. Holwell in his account of indoston says that he will venture to stake his credit and veracity on the assertion that the Province of Bengal and Bahar, will fully yield a revenue of eleven korore per annum, or *thirteen Millions seven hundred and fifty thousand Pounds sterling annually*. And if it yield this under a despotic and tyrannic government, in time of peace and currency of trade, what, as another author has observed), may we not more expect from its improvements under a mild and British government. In the mean time suppose we calculate only upon the FOUR MILLIONS revenue to arise from the present acquisitions in the Indies, and *one million* by the increase of trade, which together make FIVE MILLIONS



MILLIONS per ann. for the government of Great Britain to receive; it is a round sum to acquire towards the payment of the national debt; and if that money should not be sufficient to enable the government to take off *all* taxes, it will, at least, enable it to take them off gradually, in due proportion, as the debt of the state is paid off; and in the interim it will prevent the laying of other taxes; especially if the government should think proper to raise EIGHT MILLIONS, in the following manner as has been proposed before, viz. 4 millions from Great Britain, and 4 from N. America and Ireland, making together 8 millions; payable at the rate either of one million, or half a million, per ann. as may be found most suitable to their abilities: this sum, though large, might be raised by way of contribution, with the unanimous consent of the contributors, in order to lay open, and make free to all, the trade to the East Indies: a measure which would give universal satisfaction, by employing shipping, encouraging manufactures, and giving to all their natural right and title to the benefits of an open, free, and extended trade, to every part of the globe.

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I am confident that every person acquainted with trade, will see the scheme for *abolishing all monopolies of commerce*, in so very advantageous a light, with respect both to subject and state, as to be willing and ready to join chearfully for raising the said contribution of EIGHT MILLIONS; especially as they must be sensible that besides the benefit they will acquire by a free trade to all parts, they will receive no inconsiderable advantage by relieving the nation from the fears of a bankruptcy, and enabling the government to take off such taxes as are a great charge upon trade, in which, all having a concern, they share of consequence, in the common benefits.

This is a glorious foundation; a better and more practicable method for paying off the national debt, and taking off taxes, than ever has, or perhaps ever will happen. Therefore those men who are now appointed to negotiate this business have anoble opportunity for making a great merit of their attachment to the interest of their country; and may gain great reputation at *an easy rate*. The way is pointed out, and they cannot mistake it, unless they do it wilfully. But though this is so manifest that nobody will chuse to deny it, yet it is a doubt



doubt with me, and it grieves me to say so, whether they will have honesty enough to accomplish the great work. Hence it is evident, that my apprehensions do not proceed from the impracticability of the measure, but from the men who are appointed to carry it into execution. For, what dependence can there be made on the conduct of some state officers? For example. On that frivolous vociferous Hibernian at the B. of T; on the stability and disinterestedness of the C. of E; on the wisdom and all-sufficiency of the *premier*; on the generalship of a marshal man in the field of politics, about commercial affairs; on the disinterested regard and attachment to England of a North-Briton: and lastly on the disinterestedness of one who has made his own interest the aim of all his conduct, during his long political life; who has lately given a striking instance of his predominant passion, and who by way of extenuating his reproachable conduct and venality has ventured to gain popularity by patronizing the repeal of the stamp act, which will for ever d-----n his name.

Is there not very great reason to doubt of success while such patriots are *judges*, and have power to influence other men, so much as to bring the rest of our representatives, not perhaps to their way of  
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thinking, but to espouse their measures. But if this should happen, and the *popular* measure of laying open the trade to the East-Indies should miscarry through their means, their conduct ought to be made the subject of Parliamentary enquiry: though that might probably be of little service to the nation, as the same power that can influence the rest of the senate, to an acquiescence in any measure will certainly prevail in supporting their conduct therein. To confirm this opinion, we need only look back a few years to the conduct of the senate in regard to the peace-makers--- Though the whole nation, excepting some few venal individuals, disapproved of the terms, and were enraged at the premier; he had power enough to gain over to his interest a majority to defend, by their approbation, a conduct that was odious to the whole nation. This is such a strong and melancholy instance, of the overpowering interest of some men in authority that the public, who are secondary legislators, cannot too frequently recommend to their representatives, a due consideration for *disinterested true patriotism*, that they, not being corrupted by subjects in a more exalted station, may truly attend to the real interest of their country.

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I have observed in another paper, that money is wanted, and that it *must* be raised to satisfy the creditors of the Nation, who are very numerous, and have a demand of more than one hundred and fifty millions sterling; for which, satisfaction must be given. *Justice*, in regard to the creditors require it, and good *policy* with respect to the state indebted, makes it expedient to do it, in order to support the *credit* of the Nation; which is the life, the very existence of all governments, but particularly of a commercial state.

This being the case, it does not require much reasoning, with men whose minds are open to conviction, to prove that this is a period, when the whole attention of the British legislature ought to be given to those measures, which are best adapted to bring about this great *end* of satisfying the creditors of the nation, by such suitable means as may not only preserve the *sinking* credit of the state, but also strengthen it considerably; not by raising of taxes to distress the subjects, who are always overcharged, but by an *increase of trade*. For an extended commerce will give to all the means of thriving by their industry, and enable them, if it should be required, to

contribute abundantly towards the continual necessities of the state. This is what I have mentioned in several pamphlets, and I shall not quit my argument, about the necessity of such well adapted measures, until I find they are taken proper notice of by our ministers and representatives: for perseverance in a good cause, often *forces* success. I shall therefore persevere with that zealous duty, which I owe to the best of princes, and to my country; and again use the freedom to remind our representatives and state Officers, that they are entrusted for the public, not for private good; that they may improve every thing, in which the nation they represent is concerned for the advantage of the *whole* community; and not *neglect* and *abuse* the confidence reposed in them, either to grow rich themselves, or to suffer others to riot upon the public calamity.

This is a glorious opportunity to give public testimony of their *abilities*, and *up-right* intentions, and I heartily congratulate them on having so fine an opportunity for giving proof of abilities and integrity, to their constituents, and of affection and attachment to the best of sovereigns: If they really value the esteem and confidence  
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of an excellent prince, and the affection and applauses of their country, let them embrace this extraordinary occasion. It is most earnestly recommended to them to discharge faithfully the duty of their great trust; adhering strictly to the public promises which they made at the time of election, viz. *That they would faithfully and conscientiously represent their constituents, by using their utmost endeavours for the good of the whole community.* This important DECISION, which depends entirely upon their conduct, will prove to the world whether they were in earnest when they made such a profusion of assurances. Their attention to this great national object, (which affects all) foregoing all personal advantages, will be the *surest means of strengthening the confidence of their constituents at the next general election*, which they will have no right to expect if they should be wanting in their duty about business of so much concern to the whole nation, as that certainly is of *laying open the trade to the East-Indies, and taking from the company in consequence thereof, all their possessions of territory there.* Let our representatives, by the most spirited and suitable conduct on this occasion, entitle themselves to the applauses and confidence of their electors, against  
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the next general election, a period when they will be opposed and discarded, if they should be found, upon this very interesting occasion, to neglect the interest of their constituents. Let no time be lost; for as Shakespear judiciously observes,

There is a *tide* in the affairs of men  
Which, taken at the *flood*, leads on to

FORTUNE;

Omitted, all the voyage of their life,  
Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.

On such a *full sea* are we now a *float*:-

And we must *take the current* when it  
*serves,*

Or *lose* our ventures.

Let not the intrigues of those people whose duty it is to explain the law, but who too frequently make the *abuse*, instead of the proper *use* of it, their profession. Let them not throw the nation into confusion, by explaining the meaning of our constitution, which is sufficiently clear and manifest, viz. That whatever property is acquired so as to interfere and prove prejudicial to the rest, and greater part of the community who are entitled to equal advantages, and injurious to the state itself, then it is very reasonable, very equitable that  
*privat*



*private benefit should*, (as in reason it ought to do) *give place to public good and advantage*: Especially, when it happens (as in the present case) that the nation, or what is the same thing, the credit of it is in danger of irretrievable ruin, and can, by such an equitable measure, be relieved without distressing individuals; who being very opulent cannot with *truth* complain of being oppressed. The laws of the British constitution are, or ought to be made for the good of the whole community, or for the common interest; not for the conveniency of particular individuals, but for the well being of the whole community; and consequently when any laws are enacted, by which monopolies, exclusive companies, &c. are obtained, and should afterwards be found repugnant to the interest of the whole body of the community, it is to be supposed that they were made either thro' misinformation or error of judgment: for our constitution neither supposes *infallibility* in our legislators or *immutability* in our laws; but that the former shall conduct themselves towards strengthening or amending the latter, according as shall appear from the situation and nature of things to be most conducive to the ends of government,

ment, and the meaning of the constitution which is to administer justice to every individual, in such manner as is consistent with the common good, or interest of the whole; without distinction or favouring of one part to the wrong of the other.

Therefore, the laws so enacted, in favour of particular persons, or bodies of individuals in wrong, and which greatly affect the interest of the whole community, ought to be cancelled, and others better adapted to the common good made in their stead; in order that all the subjects of a free constitution may enjoy those equal advantages, which their frame of government or the meaning of their laws entitle them to: for upon this principle of equal justice to all, who are entitled to equal advantages, none can justly complain of being deprived of their right. Hence it is manifest, without the opinion either of chancellor, or chief justice, that there can be no room for defending the right of the East-India company, to the remaining term of their *charter*; which ought to be taken from them to do *justice* to the rest of the community, and to promote the convenience and happiness of all; or that which is commonly understood to



to be the nation. For every man's sense of things must convince him, without the aid of lawyers, that it is certainly more JUST that some too opulent individuals of the state, should be deprived of their *easy-got* superfluity, than that the rest, and much greater part of the nation should be deprived of their JUST RIGHTS, and the state itself ruined by an enormous DEBT of more than 150 millions, which daily encreases taxes, is burthenfome to trade, and the destruction of the manufacturing and labouring part of the nation, on whose success, the chief support and strength of the nation depends. The same may be observed in regard to their possessions of territory in the East-Indies, but still with a greater degree of propriety and reason: For though it may have the appearance of cruelty and inconsistency, in regard to the constitution of a free state, which protects the property of individuals, to deprive any set of men of their property of any denomination whatever, when obtained legally, yet too great an indulgence to *few*, is an injury and cruelty to *many*, who have a prior and greater right to the attention of the laws; as the safety and felicity of the state depends upon a due and judicious administration of justice in regard to the

E *whole.*

*whole.* And as the East-India company of merchants are very opulent, exclusive of their territorial acquisitions in the East-Indies, it is very reasonable and just that they should now be satisfied, and be content to part with the remaining term of their charter, and also with their possessions of land in the East-Indies, resigning them over to the government for the uses and purposes of the state, in order that by such a considerable encrease of his majesty's revenue arising from those lands, and farther acquisitions which may follow ; the greater encrease of revenue by an extention of trade, the officers of government may by a *faithful discharge of their duty*, be able to take off those taxes which are most burthensome to the poor industrious artificer ; and afterwards to reduce other taxes and imposts which have been laid, in proportion as from the wealth of individuals, the state becomes opulent.

By this measure the whole nation will be benefitted ; and the East-India company of merchants will, consequently, share the advantages in common with the rest of the community.

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For those taxes which are the greatest burthen to manufactures, and trade being removed, the British manufactures can then be afforded considerably cheaper than they are at present; this will enable his Majesty's subjects to undersel their rivals, and gain that preference which is now given to the French and other foreigners, because British manufactures come too dear to market; owing, chiefly, to the high price of labour; which must be very dear, and too extravagant for the manufactures to bear, so long as numerous and burthensome taxes are imposed upon the industrious, and the principal materials of the manufactures.

Nothing is more odious to any state, but more particularly to a free and spirited commercial nation than TAXES; which are a great burthen and hardship upon trade, and only tends to extort the *interest* upon the DEBT contracted, while the *principal* is suffered to encrease to such a gigantic size as threatens the destruction of individuals, and the ruin of the state itself, which must, of consequence, fall with its subjects. For this reason it is greatly to be lamented that our ministers and representatives should give so little attention to *causes* which are productive of such

alarming *effects*. They seem to be in a state of perfect tranquility about that which gives pain to the *whole* nation. This surprising and dangerous *inattention* to the public welfare, can only be accounted for by their being studious of their own particular interest, without any regard to that of their country, let the consequences be what they will.

And of this race of men, to our great misfortune, we have too many in the management of the nation's affairs. Were the most *upright* and *able* men appointed to the respective departments of great confidence in the State, they would see the necessity of it; and pursue such measures (without too great a regard to their own interest, and the making of their family and friends) as would keep them *long* in office. But while *men* are regarded more than *merit*, and those who have interest by the means of intrigues, turn out the able and *honest* men, and fill their places with such as have no other views but their own and dependents fortunes to make; I say while such is the conduct of men in power, the natural consequence is this; ministers knowing that they cannot fill their departments long, *they make hay while the sun shines;*



*shines*; and have neither inclination, nor time to attend to those things which are best calculated to make the nation happy and flourishing; the great art of which consists in giving to every one an *opportunity of being employed*. For were they to give the *whole* of their attention to that salutary end, while they are engaged about the means of bringing such important things about, the intrigues of a more powerful party, would turn them *out*, and bring in others, who, perhaps, are no better qualified.

And these again, while they are learning the business of their departments, may also be supplanted; so that until we are blessed with a set of men duly qualified both with abilities, and that still greater qualification, *disinterestedness*; and see them firmly established, the nation will never be faithfully served; for it will be impossible to fix upon the most suitable measures for the happiness of subject and state, until we have such proper men. This being a truth sufficiently known, I cannot but think that there is great reason to apprehend the important business depending between the government and the East-India company, will not be conducted with that zeal, spirit and activity,

tivity, and with so great a regard to the interest of the community, as is requisite for the sake both of individuals and the government. Delays about such important business are dangerous. For should another war happen before things are happily brought about, it will then be attended with greater difficulties to accomplish, and rendered almost impracticable by the greater opposition which will be made to it, and the attention which must be given to our immediate safety. The time of universal peace is the most fit to settle the internal affairs of a nation, because there is then time for thought, and opportunity to hear, to see and to judge aright; therefore the sooner the scheme is put into execution, the sooner the state will reap the advantages, and the better it will be both for the government and individuals, as the greater revenue of the *former* will give the *latter* the greater prospect of being relieved from their burthenfome taxes, &c.

Great-Britain having lost the glorious opportunity she had at the end of the war of making her own terms, instead of enjoying all those great advantages to which she was intitled from the great success of the war, was (for the sake of a temporary tranquility) reduced to a more precarious situation



situation by the loss of many thousands of her valuable subjects, and by a vast increase of the nation's debt; and therefore having let slip that great opportunity for promoting the happiness of Great-Britain upon a permanent footing, it now becomes more necessary to give our whole attention to the present occasion for putting the affairs of the nation upon an happy footing with respect to ourselves, and a safe and respectable one in regard to our enemies, and rivals more dangerous under the cloke of sacred friendship; by bringing about that blessing, which every real lover of Great-Britain most ardently wishes for; namely: an *open and free trade* for a *gradual payment* of the national debt, that the taxes may be *as gradually taken off*. This can only be accomplished by the means of a proper circulation and extention of trade, which will employ the industrious manufacturer, the merchant, and every other branch of a commercial nation; considerably encrease his Majesty's revenue; and

- fully answer every good purpose, and even the most sanguine expectations both of subject and state.

But if this expedient should be neglected, some individuals of the public will  
become

become immensely rich and powerful, while the bulk of the nation is distressed in it's trade, and groans under the unsupportable burthen of taxes imposed to pay off the interest only of the vast debt contracted by the nation; which, as it is so very considerable, must naturally have a very bad effect upon our political conduct both at home and abroad. For there can be no doubt but the national debt, and the being *tributary to foreigners* for their part of it, must greatly weaken the energy of government. It being certain that our rivals, who are very numerous, will take all advantages of our situation, they being as sensible as ourselves of the state of our FINANCES, and our methods of recruiting them, and know that *money* being the finew of war, our actions of state must necessarily be retarded, and our schemes delayed, and perhaps rendered impracticable, in proportion to our want of it. A consideration which is of the very utmost consequence to Great-Britain; who from the nature of her situation, as a *commercial Island*, must ever be at vast expence to support herself, and carry into execution her great enterprizes, which attract the jealous and envious eyes of all other nations; many of which being rivals in trade, would  
be



be glad of an opportunity to crush her with the great weight of her NATIONAL DEBT, which as it exceeds 150 millions, is terrible to think of. Being full of dreadful and alarming consequences in regard to the shifts we must make, and the inconveniences we must labor under, to raise money, as well as the effect it must have, to the prejudice of our state, with respect to other nations.

The PRINCIPAL *immense*; INTEREST *great*; TAXES (raised in consequence there of at a time when manufactures and trade are neglected) *unbearable*; with the present exorbitant price of all the necessaries of life, are such a concurrence of *grievous* circumstances that are enough to ruin a manufacturing and trading nation, whose only resources are the fruit of industry, proceeding from those very manufactures and trade. For nothing can be more manifest and certain than this great truth; so long as *trade* is neglected, the public revenue must *decrease*; the NATIONAL DEBT *increase*; and the TAXES to provide for the necessities of the state, become more numerous and burthensome to the subject; for in proportion as the debt of the nation increases, and another expensive war ap-

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proaches,

proaches, the industrious artificer has the less prospect of relief. TAXES, which in time of war were laid upon taxes, being continued in time of peace, with a continual call for more, is the greatest hardship imaginable upon the lower class; and this grievance joined to the most extravagant price of all the necessaries of life makes their situation very deplorable, and themselves objects of compassion; insomuch that I most heartily recommend their very affecting case to the tender regard of the British legislators, who I hope will have a feeling for their distressed countrymen; many of whom are so much distressed as to be obliged to feed their hungry families with food that is only fit for brutes, to the great danger of their constitutions. This melancholy truth ought to melt every British heart. Can the great officers of state hear this general distress without concern? Can they enjoy a calm conscience, and live in the most luxurious manner, without being moved at the cries of thousands of his majesty's good, but distressed subjects, owing to injudicious regulations?

The remedy for the universal dearness of all things (says another author) must be the taking off taxes. He might have added  
that



that the only true means of taking them off, so as to afford relief to individuals without endangering the state, that is, consistent with the safety of the nation, is, by a due encouragement of trade and manufactures, which are the great and only resources of this trading and manufacturing kingdom. To remove taxes without first finding something adequate to the money mortgaged, is highly absurd; being unjust in regard to the public creditor; and imprudent, and even dangerous with regard to a state greatly indebted, and without sufficient resources to pay either principal or interest. No tax can with prudence be taken off while the debt of the nation encreases.

It may be taken from some things to lay upon others; but that would be doing little towards relieving the general distress. Nay even *that* would be imprudent and attended with disagreeable consequences, if a tax is taken off to lessen the charge of those who can conveniently bear it, while it is continued (and even others laid to provide for the deficiency) those who cannot afford to pay. This is the case in regard to the land-tax, which ought to have been continued, and the 500,000l. of the revenue sunk thereby,

taken from the disgraceful oppressive taxes laid on candles, coals, beer, and other necessaries, which affect the industrious artificer. This ill-judged measure inclines me to think that *Might will still overcome right*, and that the *popular* scheme for laying open the trade to the East-Indies, will be over-ruled; because there are many members of parliament who have great interest in the East-India company's funds; and having a greater love for themselves than for their country, they will in all probability oppose, with all their authority, a *free Trade*. For no man will doubt the attachment to the East-India company of those members of parliament, who have a great share in the funds, and consequently in their emolument. Self-love is very powerful. It however becomes them as men and christians, and it is their duty both as good subjects and faithful representatives to be moderate in their attachment to their particular interest, and not make a sacrifice of the rest of the community to gratify their own selfish views. But though this is right, I shall be called a preaching fool, and laughed at by these gentlemen, who, I apprehend, are too fond of themselves to think of such moderation. Though if this should happen to  
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be the case, it will then behove the other members of parliament, who have no concern in the East-India company's funds, to make the greatest opposition they can to the interested views of others, in order that what is right may take place, not as it may affect the interest of particular individuals, but as it may affect the welfare and well-being of the *whole* community.

This is *seriously* recommended to the disinterested members, on whom, however I fear, no great dependance can be made, for they being all either nearly related or connected together, it may be expected that they will rather support than oppose one another. Those who are in parliament to represent the nation, generally represent their own interest first and most effectually. Of this the reduction of the land-tax is a *recent* instance, and is a sufficient conviction that they care very little how things go in regard to their constituents, if they can but promote their own interest. Were that not the case, they would have had compassion on the poor industrious artificers, who are burthened with oppressive taxes, while all the necessaries of life are so dear, that, through the want of work, they *literally* starve. I say, if they had the

the feelings of a Christian, nay of a Barbarian, (for they have a tenderness for their fellow-subjects) they would have taken their case under their protection, and procured them *some relief*, by taking off those taxes which more immediately affect the hard-working man, before they reduced the land tax; a measure which was not so absolutely necessary, at this juncture of time. Nay I will venture to say it is not only unseasonable, but even very unjust, as well in regard to the lower class of subjects as with respect to the state itself. For when the nation's debt increases, it is *absurd*, and even *dangerous*, to take away the means of payment pledged to the public creditor, unless the deficiency be reinstated; which can only be done by a tax upon something else that, perhaps, is less able to bear it. Insomuch that those individuals who are distressed by the *old* taxes, not only have the misfortune to find them continued, but also to see themselves threatened with *others* to reinstate the deficiency made to indulge the rich, and keep them in good humour. Fie upon the promoters of such *measures*, which are disgraceful to the noble and generous spirit of the true English, of which, alas! very few remain.

That



That there will be powerful people to protect the East-India company there can be no doubt; it appears already from the proposals of the directors, and that of Mr. Sullivan, who require an *enlargement of their charter half a century*; during which time the company might, at the rate they are now going on, become more rich and powerful than the British nation itself; and have such *influence*, by the means of their immense riches, as is quite inconsistent with the good policy of a state towards its subjects; and unjust with regard to the rest of the community: and therefore, if it should be agreed to, may be attended with the most pernicious consequences in regard to the *latter*, and of the most dangerous ones with respect to the *former*. I would, therefore, have the East-India company of merchants to consider, that it is not *right* that they should any longer be indulged with privileges and immunities, and suffered to give occasion for a well grounded jealousy from the nation or government of Great-Britain; for when they are looked upon in that light, they may be considered as dangerous subjects.

If after all this reasoning about the necessity of the measure, and the general cry  
for

for *Liberty and open Trade*, those who patronize the proposals, either of the directors or of Mr. Sullivan, should have so much interest as to over-power all argument, and induce the ministers (who may be entrusted with the settling of this important business with the company) to agree to any conditions by which those merchants shall have the remaining terms of their charter confirmed to them, either solely, or with an enlargement for an additional number of years. It will then be high time for the rest and greater part of the nation to join, and unanimously give the most spirited instructions to their representatives to oppose all such men as are biased by their particular interest or self-love, and constitutionally insist upon their right to *Liberty and a free Trade*; in order to have all monopolies of commerce abolished for the convenience of individuals; the interest, safety, and honour of the state.

The first step to a free trade ought to be the laying open *that* to the East-Indies, as being the most important. This ought to be done immediately, in *justice* to all his majesty's subjects, who are entitled alike to the advantage of a free, open, and extended commerce; and for the safety and credit of the government itself, which would ac-  
able,



quire such a considerable revenue as to be able, with the possessions in the East-Indies, and the natural happy consequences, to make ample provision for the whole debt of the nation, without being any longer under the disagreeable necessity of burthening the subject with unbearable taxes; which must *multiply*, if suitable provision is not made for the national debt. Hence it is manifest that no accommodation of differences with the East-India company *for a continuation of their charter* should be attended to; either from the directors, from Mr. Sullivan, or from any other person or set of men whatever. But rejected as highly inconsistent with the rights and interest of the subject; with the honour and welfare of the state, both at home and abroad; that is, with respect to other nations.

A letter in the Gazetteer of the 27th of March, signed Brecknock, argues thus: "The Dutch, if the information which Mr. Boteler, their ambassador, gave to the Marquis of Rockingham, be true, have nearly fifty millions sterling in our funds: the annual interest of this sum cannot be much less than two millions.

" Our East-India company, (supposing they fit out no more than twenty ships  
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yearly;

yearly; and that each ship, upon an average, exports 40,000 *l.* in coined money and bullion) must necessarily carry out of this kingdom 800,000 *l.* annually. Nor is this estimate exaggerated, as plainly appears by the exports of that company last year, which amounted in *gold* to 43,196 *l.* and in *silver* to 785,203 *l.*

“ These two exorbitant drains of cash, investigated through their various operations, will be found to be the efficient causes of that extravagant price which every species of provision bears at present, and which, if not remedied, may in time produce a general insurrection of the people.

“ In a crisis complicated like this, where it would be as impolitic to *sponge* off two millions of interest money now annually paid to the Dutch, without substituting some equivalent, as it would be impious to starve the subjects of this realm any longer; some middle measure may be invented, which not only might save our credit with the Dutch, but greatly tend in its consequences to lower the price of provisions to their natural and lawful standard.

“ Seeing therefore that the proposals of the East-India company's directors are already declared totally inadmissible, and the proposals given in by Mr. Sullivan, (tho' palatably



tably gilded over with the *temporary bait* of 800,000*l.*) exhibits to us little more than a prospect of *Utopian* moon-shine, and a participation of revenues, which possibly may never exist : and seeing that both the proposing parties make the enlargement of their charter for fifty years, the basis of their present negociation (a term of years as *arrogantly presumptuous* in them to ask, as it is utterly impracticable for the crown to grant to any monopolizing company whatever ; and farther, when I calculate the immense treasure it hath cost this nation to acquire its present establishment in the East-Indies : when we are told that their very servants in Asia are at this moment committing every species of rapine and extortion ; what horrors must the continuance of such a company, or rather such a body of *banditti*, for the space of *fifty years longer*, raise in the breast of every Briton, who is not lost to every sentiment of honour, and who has not totally abandoned every tender feeling of humanity ? Yet these modest gentlemen, who publicly profess their inability to govern and controul, the very clerks in their compting houses are aspiring to govern and controul the richest empire in the world. Should they succeed in this their negociation, what have

we to blame but our own credulity, our own absurdity, and perhaps I might add our venality? Under these circumstances, and premising, that the company have, in more than one instance, forfeited their present charter (WHICH I DENY). The CROWN is at *full liberty to dispose of the Asiatic commerce, and territorial acquisition, in such manner as may best suit the Royal dignity and welfare of the public.* “ WHICH I ALSO DENY; for the authority is not solely vested in the crown, which being only one of the three parts of the legislature, has not *full liberty* to dispose thereof, but only the right of *proposing* and *concurring* with the other two parts, viz. with regard to measures which are necessary to be taken to preserve the regal dignity, and the happiness of the community. To compass this, there ought to be an union and hearty concurrence to measures between the *Crown* which represents the Sovereign, and the two Houses of Parliament, which are the guardians and trustees, and consequently the representatives of the subject. But this gentleman artfully endeavours to bring over to his sentiments the court party, wisely judging that interested individuals will be ready to acquiesce, should it seem agreeable to that part which has favours to bestow on its votaries



taries. He therefore proposes that " Great-Britain shall cede unto the Dutch East-India company for ever, all the territorial property, revenue, and jurisdiction which British subjects have in Asia; and that no subject of Great-Britain shall hereafter, either directly or indirectly, carry on any trade or commerce whatever in that quarter of the world; but that a certain number of *incorporated* British subjects shall have the power to purchase yearly of the Dutch East-India company (for a certain number of years, as may be agreed upon) all such Asiatic commodities as may be deemed sufficient for the annual consumption of the British empire, its dependencies and commercial connections."

For the due execution of this *modest* proposal of the part of the Dutch, " the states general shall engage for their East-India company *duly and truly* to supply the British subjects (incorporated for that purpose) with Asiatic merchandize, at such *prices* as shall be thought *reciprocally* advantageous to both nations." Query, Whether the *disinterested* Dutch would be satisfied with 500 per cent. profit, when they know that the English must pay their terms, or go without Asiatic commodities? Which of the two nations is to be the *equitable* judge?

Or

Or is a third power to be called in every time that these two great rivals in commerce disagree about price? In that case, what *just* nation will determine expeditiously and candidly? What will be the consequence to Great-Britain of the suspense? The Dutch having possession will be best off. But supposing, for a moment, all this could be made *easy*, would the Dutch be content with their lot; and as they grow immensely rich and powerful by means of the treasure of Asia, will they not be tempted to get the sovereignty over our West-India islands, and even over our dominions in North-America, with the assistance of their well-wishers the French and Spaniards, and so keep us at home to get children for their service?"

For and in consideration of these *trifling* concessions to our *faithful* and *generous* neighbours; the states general shall transfer and assign over to and for the use of the British nation, all such property of money as the Dutch have at present in the funds of Great-Britain.

"As to the Dutch, it will be incumbent on the states general to inform them that Great Britain is already in debt upwards of 150 millions sterling; that in case either of an *actual* bankruptcy, or an universal sponge,  
or



or in cases *approximating* to insolvency, the first offers are always the best; (*Dutchman all over*) and that the states general would be wanting in their duty, were they to let slip so favourable an opportunity of *engrossing* the whole Asiatic commerce, besides the *immortal glory* and immediate advantage of adding to their present acquisitions a farther territorial revenue of 3 or 4 millions sterling per ann. instead of two which they are now supposed to receive for the interest of their money in the British funds. *Undoubtedly they would. And Great Britain would be still more wanting both to subject and state, and highly culpable to give them so favourable an opportunity of rivaling and overpowering her.*

“The advantages of this proposal, continues our author, will pervade thro’ every department of the British government; and as an instance he tells us, that by the annual savings of two millions sterling, now yearly remitted by the Dutch, for the loan of their money, the land-tax (*the first to be sure*) might be farther lowered to two shillings in the pound, and the disgraceful taxes on beer, soap, candles, &c. might be abolished to relieve the *distressed* poor.”

This is a truly modest gentleman indeed! And I have no doubt but our *discreet* friends,

friends, the Dutch, will, in so critical a situation, (where a bankruptcy is apprehended from undue measures) think it their duty to accept of 3 or 4 millions per ann. with all the glory they will acquire by the Asiatic trade, and the innumerable happy consequences issuing therefrom, in regard both to riches and power at home, and consequence, with respect to other nations, they will think it incumbent on them to prefer these great advantages to the 2 millions which they now receive from a *critical* debtor, for the interest of their money; *and reward those hireling writers who have abilities and interest to accomplish the Exchange.*

I am really amazed how any man, acquainted with business, knowing the rivalry between the English and Dutch, and the fatal tendency of confining the trade of a commercial nation, especially by ceding the most valuable part of it to a rival, whose faith at *best* is very precarious, could at this present juncture of time, think of trifling so much with the public. For this author certainly means to laugh at the English nation, otherwise he would not have made so absurd a proposal; at the bottom of which I can see our artful rivals the French.

I will allow the observation, in regard to the British East-India company, to be in a  
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great measure true; it is become necessary to lay open the trade to the East-Indies, that by putting their possessions under the conduct of the British government, things may be better transacted by a wise king and disinterested patriotic parliament than by a rapacious set of venal men, whose only aim is to acquire riches at any rate. But where our author treats the British East-India company with severity by calling them a set of *banditti*, because he supposes their servants in Asia commit rapine and extortion, he cannot surely think of delivering the people from extortion, by sending the *tender hearted truly conscientious disinterested* DUTCH, the *declared enemies of rapacious measures* to relieve them? I am fired with indignation for the credit of my country, to hear the heavy complaints made against the *rapacious* English proposed to be remedied, out of compassion to the sufferers, by the more *venal rapacious* Dutch.

I will also grant that two millions, paid annually to the Dutch, would be a great saving to the British nation; which (if managed by *disinterested* statesmen) might be the means of giving great relief to the poor by taking off taxes on the common necessities of life. But surely that relief can be

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given

given more *effectually* with the 3 or 4 millions revenue, to arise from the Asiatic trade, and more consistent with our safety and honour, as well in regard to the Dutch as other rival nations. Besides such mutual cessions, which this author speaks of, might involve Great Britain in endless disputes, with a race of men, who know no bounds to their venality. Disputes which might engage too much of this nation's time, and be attended with the most unhappy consequences to Great-Britain, who has already great reason to be jealous of the rivalry of the cunning venal Dutch, whose art and perfidy, under the cloak of sacred friendship, is more to be dreaded than all the *open* attacks of our natural enemies; and therefore this proposal ought to be rejected with disdain.

If it should be said it is good policy to keep the Dutch in good humour, in our present critical situation, for fear they should withdraw their money from our funds. I answer; they are too able merchants, and enlightened politicians, and have too great a share of self-love to take so *precipitate* a step, which would bring about that which is now only apprehended. That is, it might *force* a bankruptcy of the state, and make an universal sponge an act of



of necessity, whereby they would be certain of losing their money; whereas, by *temporizing*, they will receive the *interest* without endangering the *principal*; which latter they will also have a better chance of securing at a more favourable time. In the mean while, by *moderation*, they will preserve a friendship with Great-Britain, and make a merit of necessity. For this good policy is nothing more than mere necessity arising from a principle of self-love; which defends alike the *creditor* and the *debtor*: the latter from precipitate measures, and the former from the loss of their money and friendship, which would be the inevitable consequence of such *precipitation*. So that self-love, which is their *idol*, is our greatest security from their resentment; and is quite sufficient to remove every apprehension concerning their displeasure.

Thus I have opposed all proposals of accommodation with the East-India company, for a continuation of their charter; and farther, to shew how much more it would be for the interest of Great-Britain to lay open the trade to the East-Indies, than to monopolize it by confining it to a few individuals only, I shall transcribe the sentiments of another author.

“ The company ought to consider that for many years, even from the beginning, the very trade to India was hateful, and an exclusive company more so; that Sir John Barnard proposed opening the company; that there are great merchants, and multitudes of young gentlemen of excellent abilities, capable of carrying on trade; and that there are vast sums in particular men hands ready to be employed in any trade that gives profit; that the general cry of all is for *Liberty and open Trade*, an absolute necessity for laying open the trade to India, in regard both to subject and state. Whereby it is evident that,

1st. By making the trade to that part of the world free, the territorial possessions of the company cannot then any longer be kept by them, and therefore they must be put under the care of the government, as the property of the British nation, which, with faithful management, it is computed will bring in at least FOUR MILLIONS sterling per ann. besides the vast addition to that revenue by the improvements which, in the course of time, must necessarily be made in that part of the world.

2d. The happy effects of an universal commerce will be a very valuable acquisition to subject and state. In particular, it will



will increase his majesty's revenue to a very considerable amount; which, for the present, I calculate at the rate only of one million per ann.

3d. I have proposed to raise eight millions by a subscription, or voluntary contribution of all his majesty's subjects, towards the necessities of state, to enable the government to take off the taxes on those articles which most affect industry. This method of raising money, I am inclined to think is quite agreeable to the temper of the British nation, which, I believe, had rather pay the *whole* voluntarily, or as it were from a principle of *apparent* generosity or ostentation, than *one half* by compulsion.

Eight millions *cheerfully* contributed, for liberty and open trade, would be *expeditiously* raised. This sum, with five millions per ann. to come from the territorial revenue in the East-Indies, and an increase of trade at home, will naturally and inevitably bring about the following most happy effects.

It will enable the government to take off taxes on the necessaries of life, and those articles which most affect industry; this done, the price of provisions, and the commodities requisite for manufactures, will  
come

come to their natural standard : and this being accomplished, the reasonable price of provisions will enable the artificer to work cheaper ; and the price of labour, with the reasonableness of the materials of the manufacture, will bring the price of our several valuable manufactures so much more moderate than they can now be afforded at, that with the superiority of the commodity manufactured, there can be no doubt but we should be able to undersel our great rivals, and gain the preference of sale at foreign markets. An event that would so much encourage the British manufactures, as to keep them continually employed and improving ; and, of consequence, increase trade and navigation to such a degree as to give to *all* an opportunity of being fully and satisfactorily employed in the various and numerous branches which belong to a manufacturing and trading nation. To the *Joy* of every British subject, who would become wealthy, and the state, by sharing very considerably in the happy consequences, would very expeditiously be supplied plentifully with money ; not only to provide for the security of the nation, but also to pay off the debt contracted by the government without the aid of taxes. This being brought about the whole nation (sub-  
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ject and state) will be happy and flourishing. To the confusion of their enemies and numerous rivals; whose interest will be affected, and situation rendered precarious in proportion to the success of Great-Britain: and to the great admiration of the rest of the world, who will applaud a measure that is productive of such mighty happy consequences; and pay the homage due to good policy and a flourishing condition.

I have, no doubt, if a subscription was opened for raising the voluntary contribution of eight millions in Great-Britain, Ireland, North-America, and the West-India islands, his majesty's subjects in general would chearfully concur to raise that sum of maney to be applied towards taking off those taxes which are a burthen to trade, and which greatly affect all. The sum of eight millions might perhaps be more conveniently and expeditiously raised in this manner, than by the different states belonging to the British crown agreeing to furnish the government with that sum at the rate either of one million or half a million per ann. from each. There are many merchants, to my knowledge, who would contribute largely were a subscription set on foot; and as the general cry is for *Liberty and open Trade*, there is good reason to conclude

conclude that others will do the same; therefore, if the government should think fit to propose to the whole nation a design of laying open the trade to the East-Indies, upon condition of being furnished with the said sum of 8 millions, I will venture to say, that as the measure would be highly pleasing to all, so individuals would chearfully comply with the condition; not because they are obligated to pay at that rate for their natural right to *Liberty and open Trade*, but because the money to be raised will do great service to the state, and of consequence to themselves, as it would in a great measure be returned to them by their being relieved of burthensome taxes.

In the fourth and last place, our flourishing manufactures and trade must necessarily have such an effect on all other great rival nations, particularly the French and Spaniards, and the rest of the Bourbon family, and her allies, united by the *Family Compact* (a formidable combination against Great-Britain), as will secure our happiness upon a *permanent* footing, as well at home as abroad; to the no small disappointment and mortification of the proud Spaniard, the artful Frenchman, and the selfish Dutchman, who will all join to oppose and overthrow the scheme for laying the trade to the East-Indies open to British subjects.



While all this can be brought about to give satisfaction and ease to every individual, as well as to procure every thing that the government stands in need of with respect to the nation's safety and honour at home, and to her glory abroad, it would be highly absurd, (I had almost said very wicked) for ministers to turn their backs to such a scheme, and thro' venality (for what else can it be attributed to) prefer the proposals either of the directors, or of Mr. Sullivan, which is no ways *adequate* to it ; and being blended with the participation of mercantile profits (of which it will be difficult to obtain a faithful and satisfactory account, if we may judge of the disinterestedness of many of that company, by their late conduct) it would be absurd for government to be embarrassed with such conditions. They being not only tedious and productive of disagreeable discussions, but also inconsistent with the nature of government, and the dignity of the nation, to keep a partnership account of profits with merchants, or other individuals.

After this, can any state officer be so *venal* as to espouse the interest of a monopolizing company, and occasion quite the reverse of what I have mentioned to happen? Can any man be so great an enemy to a grateful country, as to sacrifice the interest

of the whole community to gratify his own purposes? The wretch whom hunger and a starving family induce to deprive his fellow subject of a small part of his property, merits compassion ; because a desperate situation is a strong compulsion, even to the best inclined, who have the feelings of nature for their family, and are reduced to want through, perhaps, injudicious public regulations. But the man who betrays that country, which confers on him riches, dignity, and confidence, is a wretch indeed ; nay, a most ungrateful, inhumane, barbarous, and detestable villain. As great a monster as any that can occur to our imagination. It is therefore greatly to be wished that none may be found to merit a character so truly odious to Britons.

All are invited to concur unanimously, once for ever, to accomplish a work of the greatest consequence to every individual ; who being made completely happy in their situation, every heart will be made glad, and inclined to offer up their thanks to God for giving the nation so fine an opportunity for being freed from the fears of a bankruptcy, and irretrievable ruin ; and to our most excellent Sovereign, for the blessings which are conferred on all, through his wise and mild government.

Thus, my Lord Duke, instead of a Letter,  
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the great importance of the subject has carried me to the length of an eighteen-penny Pamphlet. I shall not make any apology for presuming to recommend it to your patronage, as I am sensible that whatever tends to the happiness of his Majesty's family and dominions is highly agreeable and acceptable to your Grace; who, it is universally known, is ever ready to lend your assistance and influence to promote so glorious a cause, as the WILL of an excellent Prince, and the FELICITY of your grateful Countrymen.

I have the honour to profess myself, with all the respect that I ought,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's most humble,

*London, April*

10, 1767.

and most devoted Servant,

*An untainted Englishman.*

## P O S T S C R I P T.

**I**F the plan for an *open Trade* should be adopted by the Legislature, as the advantages cannot be *instantaneous*, and as the government will have occasion for supplies until they are brought about, I propose that a considerable sum of money shall, *in the interval*, be raised by a taxation upon *proper objects*. I have several of them in *view*, of which the following is the least.

A plan for raising 52,500 *l.* per ann. for the use of government, by a tax upon male and female servants.

As it is impossible to *guess* the exact quantity of people in Great-Britain, under the denomination of servants; so, for example, I suppose:

20,000 men servants, or domestics of people in easy circumstances; whether in or out of livery no matter, so that they are servants of *ease* and *luxury*; by which I mean to distinguish them from servants or assistants necessary for the promoting of manufactures and commerce (for to tax them would be a great hinderance to the success of industry and trade). These servants I propose to tax at the rate of one guinea each per ann. the money to be paid by the masters or mistresses who employ them,



them, which would be no hardship upon them, as no person, who can afford to keep a servant for his convenience, can think much to pay one guinea extraordinary every year towards the necessity of the state.

In the next place I propose a tax on coachmen; that is, on those who keep carriages. Suppose then 10,000 coachmen, or drivers of carriages of *ease* and *luxury*; these I propose to tax at the rate of two guineas each per ann. for this good reason, because it may reasonably be supposed, that such people who can afford to keep an equipage can as conveniently pay two, as a man that keeps a servant can one guinea. I think three guineas on the coachmen would be better *proportioned*, but I shall, at present, calculate only upon two guineas.

In the third and last place I propose a tax on female servants; of which I suppose there may be 20,000 in Great-Britain; on these I propose a tax only of half a guinea each per ann. Thus:

20,000 men servants at 1 guinea each	£ 21,000
10,000 coachmen      2 ditto	— 21,000
20,000 maid servants $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto	— 10,500
	<hr/>
	£ 52,5000

The sum would be more or less, according as the number shall be found in Great-Britain.

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As an addition, I propose that *three guineas* per ann. shall be paid by every person who shall employ a French domestic; and *two guineas and a half* upon every foreign servant of any other nation; in order to discourage that fondness which the English have for foreign domestics, especially those from France; to the great discouragement of their own countrymen, who *starve* for want of employ, while foreigners are cherished, and so much encouraged, as to behave with the greatest insolence. To avoid this in future, which is so great an injury and disgrace to the British nation, I propose a tax equal to a prohibition; and *having proved the impropriety of importing foreign manufactured silks, with great success*; I shall, if there should be occasion, prove the absurdity, as well as injustice of importing or employing, to the distress of his majesty's subjects, any foreign servants, especially those from France; it being absolutely necessary to discountenance every thing coming from that great rival country, the natural enemy of Great-Britain.

A considerable annual sum might also be raised for the use of government on all HORSES of *ease* and *luxury*: and a more considerable one by a tax upon HOUSES. Supposing, by way of example, every house or tenement should be taxed at the rate of one



one shilling in the pound on the rent ; one-fifth to be paid by the ground landlord, two-fifths by the house landlord, and two-fifths by the tenant : to be collected by the people who gather the king's taxes, without any additional charge to the government.

These taxes, falling upon the *proper objects*, will, without distressing of *any*, give relief to *many* under less happy circumstances, by making provision for the necessities of state, without burthening the industrious part of the nation ; which it is both just and good policy to avoid as much as possible, and is the great point which I am now aiming to carry.

A little time will discover whether my *preaching* will be effectual. In the interim, it is very discouraging to those who have spirit enough to point out the public grievances, and the method of redressing them, to find so little attention given by state officers. Though it has, in my opinion, been sufficiently demonstrated that it is the greatest absurdity to appoint an *imperious military* man to govern a commercial people, and promote, by the most *judicious* management, the success of commerce, to answer the expectations of individuals (and the purposes of the state), which they are entirely ignorant of ; yet it has lately appeared in the public papers, that general  
Murray

Murray will return to Quebec in quality of governor of all Canada. As a *just* recompence, I suppose, for the injury done to the reputation of that gentleman, by the numerous *malicious* complaints made of his *partial* and *injudicious* administration. If a certain board has acquitted Mr. Murray, and consider the accusations laid against him as *malicious*, it may be supposed that he had *instructions* to raise money on the traders by virtue of the royal prerogative *only*; and that as he obeyed orders, he is not chargeable for the consequences; which fall upon his instructors, who, I hope, will give satisfaction to the trader for the money raised by a Duty on spirituous-liquors as well at Quebec as at the Havannah, or shew by what act of parliament they were authorized to raise such a contribution on British subjects, who are waiting for a redress of that grievance. But, unless it should be found expedient to make public Example of some men in certain departments who prefer the convenience of their friends and Creatures to the interest and well-doing of the state, I apprehend they will wait *long* for a Remedy, and to very little purpose.

F I N I S.





